

R830.6 S6

Scandinavian Studies

PUBLIC LIBRARY
DETROIT

Publication of the Society for the
Advancement of Scandinavian Study

Edited by

ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT
MANAGING EDITOR

WALTER JOHNSON
ASSOCIATE MANAGING EDITOR

AND
REVIEW EDITOR

SVERRE ARESTAD RICHARD BECK STEFÁN EINARSSON
JENS NYHOLM ERIK WAHLGREN

Issued Quarterly in February, May, August, and November

VOLUME 26

FEBRUARY, 1954

NUMBER 1

T 830.6 86
1.26-27 1304 DE
c.1

CONTENTS

ERIC STOCKTON

- Thorstein Veblen as an Icelandic Scholar..... 1

WALTER W. GUSTAFSON

- The Patterns of the Work of Pär Lagerkvist..... 12

ADOLPH B. BENSON

- Humor and Satire in Strindberg's "The Island of Paradise"..... 17

FREDERIC FLEISHER

- The Vagabond in the Life and Poetry of Erik Axel Karlfeldt..... 25

REVIEWS

Einar Haugen's *First Grammatical Treatise* (Albert Morey Sturtevant) p. 28. Ulrike Sprenger's *Praesens Historicum und Praeteritum in der Altisländischen Saga* (Lee M. Hollander) p. 33. Knut Hagberg's *Carl Linnaeus* (Adolph B. Benson) p. 35. *Baron Klinkowström's America, 1818-1820* (Kenneth Bjork) p. 38. Hans Brix' *Emil Aarestrup* (P. M. Mitchell) p. 42. *American-Swedish Handbook* (Delmar Nordquist) p. 44.

- BOOK NOTES..... 46
-

Scandinavian Studies is published four times a year (in February, May, August, and November) at the George Banta Publishing Company, 450 Ahnaip Street, Menasha, Wisconsin. Subscription price (which automatically carries with it membership in the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study), \$2.00 a year. Price of a single copy, seventy-five cents.

Address communications regarding subscription and advertising to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Society, Mr. Martin Soderback, 450 Ahnaip Street, Menasha, Wisconsin, or North Park College, Chicago 25, Illinois.

Send manuscripts of contributions (except reviews and bibliographies) to the Managing Editor, Professor A. M. Sturtevant, 924 Louisiana Street, Lawrence, Kansas.

Send books for review, exchange publications, and manuscripts of reviews and bibliographies to the Review Editor, Professor Walter Johnson, 214 Denny Hall, University of Washington, Seattle 5, Washington.

Entered as second-class matter May 3, 1918, under the Act of March 3, 1879, at the Post Office at Menasha, Wisconsin. Printed in the United States of America.

LL

Scandinavian Studies

VOLUME 26

FEBRUARY, 1954

NUMBER 1

THORSTEIN VEBLEN AS AN ICELANDIC SCHOLAR¹

ERIC STOCKTON

University of Michigan

THORSTEIN VEBLEN's sole contribution to the study of Icelandic literature as literature was his *The Laxdæla Saga: Translated from the Icelandic: With an Introduction* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1925). The translation was begun, and probably finished, in the winter of 1889-1890; while the Introduction was written shortly before publication. Veblen's English version of the saga thus lay on the shelf for quadruple the number of years Horace prescribes, but possibly this was either too long or else not quite long enough. It appears that Veblen began the task, forgot about it for thirty-five years, and then suddenly turned to it again late in life, to issue the translation as his last book. Veblen's life, personality, and other works furnish an explanation for the inception, postponement, and ultimate publication of the *Laxdæla* translation.

Veblen has been described as a lone and reluctant Viking, at war with modern civilization. Both his boyhood, with its heritage of Norwegian culture, and his later life involved frictional forays against an alien Midwest. His "literary style has exactly the qualities of 'ferocity and astuteness' which he attributes to the barbarian stage of cultural evolution."² His very talk had something of the flavor of the sagas. According to Harold Laski, "He delivered himself, in a half-oracular, half-ironical way, of

¹ I wish to thank Professors Karl Litzenberg of the University of Michigan and Francis P. Magoun, Jr., of Harvard University for helpful suggestions and criticism concerning this paper.

² *The Portable Veblen*, ed. Max Lerner (New York: Viking Press, 1948), Introduction, p. 45.

extraordinarily pungent judgments upon men and things. . . . He impressed me greatly by his sudden flashes of insight. . . . It would have been easy to describe much of his talk as cynical; but one saw quite early that this was in fact merely a protective colouring beneath which he concealed deep emotions he did not like to bring to the surface."³

Veblen's thinking was permeated with his knowledge of primitive cultures early and late. With his nimble use of a relativistic anthropology, he never tired of describing modern society in terms of barbarism. He says in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* that the "scheme of life of the class is in large part a heritage from the past, and embodies much of the habits and ideals of the earlier barbarian period. This archaic, barbarian scheme of life imposes itself also on the lower orders, with more or less mitigation. In its turn the scheme of life . . . runs chiefly in the direction of conserving traits, habits, and ideals that belong to the early barbarian age,—the age of prowess and predatory life."⁴ And Veblen's favorite example of barbarism was that of the Vikings, who to him represented prowess and predation *par excellence*.

He is fond of describing Vikings in terms of modern economics. Thus their piratical raids are viewed as "An Early Experiment in Trusts,"⁵ with a "settled business routine and a defined code of professional ethics." More important is the frequent description of modern industrialism in terms of the Viking Age. The leisure-class industrialists of such a concern as what he privately called the "U. S. Steal Corporation" are nothing but systematic predators upon the community at large. Theirs is an "arrested spiritual development," their thinking a hang-over from the barbaric age, with its love of bloody fighting, cruel sports, naive superstitions, menial servants, enslaved wives, and conspicuous consumption.

Veblen's able biographer, Joseph Dorfman, says of *The*

³ Quoted in Joseph Dorfman, *Thorstein Veblen and His America* (New York: Viking Press, 1934), p. 451.

⁴ (New York: Modern Library, 1934), p. 246.

⁵ In *The Journal of Political Economy*, XII (March, 1904), pp. 270-279. See also Dorfman, pp. 220-222.

Theory of the Leisure Class, "The book reads as if it were a saga, as if, in accordance with saga traditions, the underlying motif constantly before the listener was the inevitable doom of the industrially advanced, democratic community, through the functioning of the heroic characters who are thrown up as an effective leisure class by conditions supposed to make for peace, and who go also to their destruction."⁶ And even Veblen's method of research for that book resembles that of Ari or Snorri. He says in its Preface (p. viii) that the "data have by preference been drawn from everyday life, by direct observation, or through common notoriety, rather than from more recondite sources at a farther remove."

Another striking example of Veblen's preoccupation with ancient Scandinavia is that his *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*⁷ begins with a long and only partly relevant discourse on the culture of the "dolicho-blond" race of the Germanic North. And at the end of the book he cannot resist attaching three long notes⁸ on this same race, the last of which constitutes his most complete analysis of the Viking Age. He is anxious to establish a continuity of interests from the Viking to the Prussian, and he succeeds surprisingly well, although he relies excessively upon a semi-mystical notion of the transmission of hereditary talents.

In his Introduction to *Laxdæla*, Veblen notes that "it is the paramount exigencies of the blood-feud that shape the outlines of the narrative and create the critical situations of the plot and give rise to the main outstanding incidents and episodes."⁹ Similarly, there is something of the blood-feud in Veblen's portrayal of the relationship between the "captain of industry" and his captain competitor, between the exploiting industrialist and the hireling engineer, the academic administrator or "captain of erudition" and the university scholar, the narrow-minded Gentile and the intellectual Jew, the working class and the leisure class, the "dolicho-blond" and the Alpine and

⁶ Pp. 174-175.

⁷ (New York and London: Macmillan, 1915.)

⁸ Pp. 273-315.

⁹ P. v.

Mediterranean races, pecuniary investors and industrial technicians, barbarism and civilization. At the center of Veblen's thinking on any problem there lies always a mortal antagonism. At heart he admired most the pagan *holmgöngumaðr*, to whom all issues were simple and clearly defined.

In view of his wide and continual use of Scandinavian, especially Icelandic, data, and in view of the thorough incorporation of them into his thinking, it is not too much to say that Veblen published his *Laxdæla* as payment of a debt of gratitude to his forbears. The translation was long on the shelf but never out of mind. The thirty-five-year span between the book's inception and publication parallels nearly the whole of the scholar's long, productive life, and the introduction is almost his swan song.¹⁰

Veblen was well qualified to undertake the translation. He had a talent for languages. He spoke nothing but Norwegian until he went to Carleton College at seventeen; yet he rapidly acquired an English style which, far from betraying a foreign accent, early became a scalpel in his hands. He knew enough Latin to write a complicated poem in it while at college, and enough Greek to write Attic anathemas on his neighbor's fences. German he learned early and well and later acquired Danish, Swedish, French, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch. (During the Revolution of 1917 he began to study Russian.) More important for our purposes: when about twenty he and his brother Andrew entered upon the study of Old Norse.

Veblen quickly learned to love the language of the sagas, and also those works of William Morris which were based upon them.¹¹ We learn from the Introduction and various notes to his *Laxdæla* that he had read the Introduction and the sagas contained in Vigfússon's edition of *Sturlunga saga*,¹² *Heims-*

¹⁰ The only writing he published subsequently was an article entitled "An Experiment in Eugenics," published in *Essays in Our Changing Order*, ed. Leon Ardroni (New York: Viking Press, 1934). Written in 1927, the article advocates eugenic experiment in Scandinavia, and especially Norway. There is, significantly, a digression on conditions in pagan and feudal Scandinavia.

¹¹ Veblen went to Europe in 1896 primarily to see Morris, but was disappointed in the acquaintance. He did not sympathize with Morris' views on handicraft, and Morris had lost some of his interest in socialism. See Dorfman, p. 133.

¹² Two vols. (Oxford, 1878).

kringla, *Njáls saga*, and the *Landnámabók*. From the notes to his *Imperial Germany* we learn further that he read *Jómsvíkinga saga* and both of the *Eddas*. In "An Early Experiment in Trusts" (p. 277) he cites, among others of these sagas, *Ólafssaga Tryggvasonar* as one of his sources. It is likely that he also read other sagas, especially those which Morris translated.¹³

Yet Veblen's works show surprisingly little appreciation of literature as such, and his Introduction to *Laxdæla* is no exception. For an over-all literary criticism of the work he is content to quote Vigfússon: "This, the second only in size of the Icelandic Sagas, is perhaps also the second in beauty. It is the most romantic of all, full of pathetic sentiment, which, like that of Euripides, is almost modern, and brings it closer to the thoughts and feelings of our day than any other story of Icelandic life."¹⁴ After a few non-literary remarks of his own, Veblen then adds, "And in its class, doubtless, the *Laxdæla* rightly takes rank among the foremost, as a tragic tale of intrigue and adventure driven by the imperative call of the blood-feud."¹⁵ Then he gets down to the business of what really interests him, the fact that "... all the while the *Laxdæla* remains also an ethnological document of a high order; perhaps standing in this respect at the head of the list."¹⁵

Veblen therefore did not translate this particular saga because it is a great literary work, but because "... it is of prime significance for any understanding of that peculiar phase of culture that makes up its setting; that is to say the period which comprises the close of the Viking Age, so called, and the advent of the Christian Faith in Iceland and in northern Europe more at large."¹⁵ He then proceeds to a stinging tirade, which occupies most of his Introduction, upon the conversion of Scandinavia to Christianity. His anti-clericalism makes him forget his earlier brief praise of the saga, so anxious is he to attack the clerical redactor who inserted Christian elements into the text: "By

¹³ On these see Karl Litzenberg, "William Morris and Scandinavian Literature: A Bibliographical Essay," *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, XIII (1935), pp. 93-105.

¹⁴ P. v.

¹⁵ P. vi.

comparison with the common run of sagas, the received text of the *Laxdæla* is a somewhat prosy narrative, cumbered with many tawdry embellishments and affectations of style and occasional intrusive passages of devout bombast."¹⁶ Such criticism is wide of the mark.

Veblen remarks (p. xii) that he used the Copenhagen edition of 1826¹⁷ for his text, which must mean that he did not make any thorough revision of the translation late in life. It appears likely that the Copenhagen edition was the only one accessible to him in 1889. He does claim that he made "some reference to later and more critical editions of the text"¹⁸ and mentions that of Kålund;¹⁹ hence it is a mark of sheer perverseness to say that "except for textual, essentially clerical, variations, there is no notable divergence between one edition and another . . . of the *Laxdæla*."¹⁸ For Kålund's edition, of course, is vastly superior to the Copenhagen.

Veblen notes that "the translation has also had the benefit of comparison with those made by Mrs. [Muriel A. C.] Press (Dent, London, 1899) and Rudolph Meissner (Jena, 1913), both of which are excellently well done. . . ."¹⁸ He does not, however, seem to have made much use of Mrs. Press' English version—I have not seen the German version—or to have been aware of other translations available by 1925.²⁰

Since Veblen thought there was a considerable difference between the idiomatic speech of the saga and current English, he thus reasoned that his "translation becomes in good part a

¹⁶ P. xiii.

¹⁷ *Laxdæla-Saga Sive Historia de Rebus Gestis Laxdölensium* (Copenhagen, 1826). A Latin translation is included *vis-à-vis*.

¹⁸ P. xii.

¹⁹ *Laxdæla Saga*, ed. K. Kålund (Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek, Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1896). Veblen may also have seen the widely used popular edition in the *Íslendinga sögur: Laxdæla saga*, ed. Valdimar Asmundarson (Reykjavík, 1895).

²⁰ Among these may be mentioned R. Proctor, *The Story of the Laxdalers* (London, 1903); Fernand Mossé, *La Laxdæla Saga* (Paris: Alcan, 1914); and a partial translation in G. Vigfússon and Y. Powell, *Origines Islandicae*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1905). For a Latin translation see n. 17 above.

Morris also made (with Magnusson) a prose translation of *Laxdæla* before writing his "Lovers of Gudrun."

work of makeshift and adumbration, in which any consistently literal rendering of the text is out of the question."¹⁶ Yet when he was asked by friends whether the style of the translation was his own or derived from the text, he replied, "I have translated the matter very literally."²¹ Both of these remarks are partly true, as a comparison of the translation with the original will show.

The beginnings of such a comparison have already been made by Professor Lee M. Hollander in his excellent review of Veblen's book.²² He commends it as "one of the best translations of an Icelandic saga which we have. It avoids, on the one hand, the affectation of a too modern, fluent manner and, on the other, the overloading of the medium with indigestible, stodgy archaisms à la William Morris. It is 'spirited' in the best sense."²³ Professor Hollander's judgment that Veblen's translation is in general racy, direct, accurate, and enjoyable is surely just, but he then goes on to qualify it by the notice of some nineteen inaccurate or otherwise objectionable renderings. The following list of other questionable renderings will perhaps best serve as a supplement to that in Professor Hollander's review. It should also help to demonstrate that Veblen did not revise his translation very carefully, if he did so at all.

The following renderings are incorrect:

1. *ek em kallaðr Gilli enn gerzki* (p. 25, Chap. 12): "They call me Gilli the Greek." Better: "Gilli the Russian."
2. *þat vil ek, at þeir ráði, sem hygnari eru; því verr þykki mér, sem oss muni duga heimskra manna ráð, er þau koma fleiri saman*

²¹ Dorfman, p. 495.

²² "Thorstein Veblen's *The Laxdæla Saga*," *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, VIII (1925), pp. 258-259. Two minor comments are needed on this most helpful review. First: "Hellions"—picturesque enough—for *heljarmenn* (Chap. 39) must be set down to Veblen's account. The Century Dictionary knows no such word." But the word is common colloquially and is a good translation here. See *The American College Dictionary*, s.v. "hellion."

Second: "*Kaupeyri mun ek þér fá* (Chap. 58) means, simply: 'I shall equip you with trading-goods.' There is no such English idiom as 'I shall find you in trade goods.'" But "find" in the sense of "provide" is permissible, even if inadvisable, here.

²³ P. 258.

(p. 62, Chap. 21): "I would have those rule who are the best informed. To my mind, home-bred bungling and guesswork will serve us all the worse the more there are of them." Better: "I wish that they rule who are wiser; for it seems to me that the guidance of foolish men is of worse service to us the more they get together (or: the more of them that come together here)."

3. *ef hann vili freista sunds* (p. 133, Chap. 40): "if he would like to try conclusions." Better: "if he would like to have a swimming contest," or "contend in swimming."

4. *Eigi veit ek, hvar kapp þill er nú komit* (p. 133, Chap. 40): "I don't see what has come of your sportsmanship." Better: "I don't see where your courage has gone," or "what has become of your courage."

5. *er konungr gekk til kirkju* (p. 139, Chap. 40): "when the king was on his way to mass." Better: "when the king was going to church."

6. *salerni* (p. 164, Chap. 47): "the places of retreat." Better: "outhouses," or "privies."

7. *þvát hann var vanr at þegja eða mæla í móti* (p. 168, Chap. 47): "for that was the usual way with him." Better: "for he was wont to keep silent or to speak out in opposition."

8. *salt er þat, en eigi má ek vita, at þessir men sili um kyrt allir, er ek hefði ör þenna fjándskap miklat á hendr* (p. 203, Chap. 59): "That is true. But I can not make up my mind to leave all these men quite out of it against whom I have been nursing my hate all this time." Better: "That is true, but I cannot be sure that all these men would sit quietly by, when I previously have been stirring up enmity against them," or "that all these men, against whom I have previously increased enmity, would sit quietly by."

9. *at stefna at Helga Harðbeinssyni, berserkinum* (p. 206, Chap. 60): "to go after Helgi Hardbeinson, the berserk." Better: "to call upon Helgi Hardbeinson, the fierce fighter."

10. *hann var margeygr furðuliga* (p. 217, Chap. 63): "He was . . . fussy." Better: "He was wondrously quick of glance," or "His gaze was surprisingly shifty."

11. *sjaldan fór svá, þá er vel vildi* (p. 229, Chap. 67): "It has

not usually been so when you have wished me well." Better: "It has seldom happened so before, when it (i.e. fate) wished me well."

12. *Hann tók vel við honum ok kannaðiz við kynferði hans* (p. 238, Chap. 70): "The king received him kindly and counted up his kin and connections." Better: "He (the king) received him well and recalled his kindred," i.e. "mentioned that his kindred were known to him."

13. *Þorkell miðlaði marga góða . . . vinum sínum* (p. 252, Chap. 74): Thorkel sold off many articles . . . to his friends." Better: "Thorkel shared many articles . . . with his friends."

14. *Þú . . . gert þik at undri* (p. 280, Chap. 85): "You . . . have behaved like a marvel." Better: "You . . . have been making a spectacle of yourself," or "You . . . have behaved astonishingly."

The following renderings are not literally incorrect, but stand in need of improvement:

1. *mun ek fara at sjá hrossin, hvárr okkarr sem þá hlýtr þau at eiga þaðan í frá* (p. 119, Chap. 37): "I am going to take a look at the horses; whichever of us two is to own the horses from that time on." Better: "I am going to see the horses (and I shall see) which one of us two is fated to own them from then on."

2. *ok mun óhægt vera algerða við forlögum þeira* (p. 149, Chap. 43): "and yet it will be unhandy to turn aside their destiny." Better: "and yet it will be difficult to adopt preventive measures against what is fated for them."

3. *Hann . . . mælti, at sumir skyldu geyma hesta þeira* (p. 164, Chap. 47): "He . . . told off some of them to look after their horses." Better: "He . . . said that some of them ought to watch their horses."

4. *Var gefit fé til, at þeir skyldi vera ferjandi, en eiga eigi úlkæmt* (p. 180, Chap. 51): "Composition was paid to make them lawfully transportable out of the country, but without the right to return to Iceland." Better: "Money was paid for them to be lawfully transported, but they did not have the right to return to Iceland." (Veblen is fond of the legal term "composi-

tion," using it to translate *fé* here and on p. 193, *bætr* on pp. 228 and 253, and *sættir* on p. 242. "Weregild" would be a better term in nearly every case, although not on p. 180.)

5. *þeim er í sǫkum eru við sonu Bolla* (p. 209, Chap. 61): "those who have accounts outstanding with Bolli's sons." Better: "those who have done offense to Bolli's sons."

6. *þeir . . . eigu mikils at reka* (p. 209, Chap. 61): "they have a good deal of provocation." Better: "they have a good deal to avenge."

7. *draug* (p. 258, Chap. 76): "spook." Better: "ghost," or "spirit."

8. *hann . . . fekk alla þjónustu* (p. 264, Chap. 78): "he . . . received the viaticum and extreme unction." Better: "he . . . received the last rites of the Church."

9. *vandræði* (p. 271, Chap. 81): "mess of trouble." Better: "trouble."

In addition, as Professor Hollander points out (p. 259), Veblen's handling of proper names presents problems. He does adopt the useful device of often giving the Icelandic name and then its English equivalent in parentheses. The reader is glad to know, e.g., that Vikrarsleið is "Cinderslide," that Dögurðar-ness is "Point Breakfast," Thorarin Fylsenni "Ivorydome," Thorolf Mostrarskegg "Mustardwhiskers," etc. But this practice is not observed with many names. Furthermore, there is a confusing lack of consistency in calling Auðun Festargarm "Bandog" [for "Banddog"] on p. 180 and "Halterdog" on p. 181, or in calling Thori "the England-Farer" on p. 289, "Englandsfari" on p. 290. Some readers perhaps would not make the right connection between the two names as given in "There was a certain man by the name of Björn. He was living in the Bjarnafjord country . . ." (p. 18). Or why translate only half a name, as, e.g., "Bjarnardaughter?" All such examples could be multiplied.

Proverbs are on occasion not too well handled in the translation. "The sluggard's business bides the evening" is too stiffly literal for *aplans bíðr óframs sǫk* (p. 110). The same is true of "the hill will be as steep as the hollow" for *mæti dalr hóli* (p. 123), which Kålund (p. 113, n.) expands to mean, "(dass) die

sache unangenehme, aber unabwendbare folgen haben wird." And "Prevention is easier than cure" (p. 161) is not too appropriate a rendering of *er um heill best at binda*.

There are still other matters which could be criticized. Veblen has a great liking for the word "handsel" (pp. 13, 167, 255) where "give" or "gift" would do. And why render *belgr* as "poke" (p. 122)? Why render *vaðmal* as "*wadmal*" on p. 167 and then rightly as "homespun" on p. 170? Why render *sel* as "sel" on p. 111, then rightly as "dairy" or "dairy house" on pp. 189, 212, and 213, and then go back to "Sel" with a capital S on pp. 214 and 219? Why not translate *goðorð* on p. 228, or at least give its meaning in a footnote? Why render *ausinn* pretentiously as "affused" on pp. 81 and 88, and rightly as "sprinkled" on pp. 17 and 115? Why omit the first sentence of Chap. 52 (p. 182)? And why keep the poor paragraphing of the original, rather than adopt Kålund's?

Yet in spite of these strictures the translation teems with picturesquely effective snatches, of which only a few can be quoted here. Who but Veblen would render *reiðulega* as "in high dudgeon" (p. 8), or *hrossamaðr* as "horse fancier" (p. 153), or *kappsamr* and *ákafamaðr* as "something of a driver" (pp. 19 and 200), or *við hvern mann* as "with all the folks" (p. 179)? Veblen can be forgiven some of his picaresques for many a sentence, such as that on p. 12: "I have been thinking, my dear, that you ought to settle down and get married," and for his avoidance of "thee" and "thou."

The style is typical Veblen: much pretentious Latinity punctuated here and there by an arresting homely word. The Introduction is typical Veblen: many brilliant observations and penetrating but oversimplified generalizations on a society. As from his other works, there comes the uneasy feeling from his *Laxdæla* that he wrote with tongue firmly in cheek and, if not left-handedly, then at least ambidextrously. Yet he deserves gratitude for helping to popularize Northern Antiquities, and for providing a useful and readable translation of an important saga.

THE PATTERNS OF THE WORK OF PÄR LAGERKVIST

WALTER W. GUSTAFSON

Uppsala College

WHEN Pär Lagerkvist's *Barabbas*, the last published work of the 1951 Nobel prize winner in literature, appeared in an English translation, it was favorably reviewed by critics throughout the country, but many readers, if my observation can be trusted, were puzzled and a bit baffled by the piece. What is the author trying to achieve? To answer this question one must bear in mind that the various works of Pär Lagerkvist fit into a pattern which he created in his youth at the very beginning of his career and which he has consistently followed for thirty-eight years of active writing with various modifications and re-creations.

In a manner analogous to that of the young Wordsworth, Pär Lagerkvist early formulated his theories of craftsmanship in two brief treatises, *The Art of Words and the Art of Painting and Sculpture* (1913) and *Modern Theater* (1916), and also sporadically in early book and art reviews. The treatise *The Art of Words and the Art of Painting and Sculpture* (1913), one of his earliest productions, has never been reprinted and is now something of a collector's item. It is, however, very important for the understanding of Pär Lagerkvist's work in that it outlines the main patterns and principles of his art, which he has constantly applied in later works. The treatise *Modern Theater* (1916) formulates his principles in reference to drama. Also the early book and art reviews are of considerable value in indicating applications and details of his various theories.

After this early period of setting forth principles of craftsmanship, Pär Lagerkvist has remained largely silent in matters of literary theory, but he has nevertheless worked slowly and steadily at the task of embodying and re-creating the patterns in various literary genres, such as lyrics, short stories, novels, plays, etc.

What are, according to these early treatises, the main

principles of Pär Lagerkvist's art? [He undoubtedly set out to revolutionize writing in Sweden, to make it a reflection and interpretation of the modern world, which he considers not only confused and chaotic, but also brutal and sound. A new form is needed to express this modern way of life: it must reflect life as it is today and also spring from deep personal convictions, a sincere philosophy of life deeply felt and contemplated.

As to form, Pär Lagerkvist felt the design must evolve from a technique like that of cubism in modern painting: it should be an intellectual shaping of the material in such a way that the resulting forms are both classical in balance and romantic in intense feeling. The cue for these principles is apparently taken from modern painting and sculpture, in which denominators are sought that are fundamental and universal, an underlying organization that is both intellectual and creative.

The models in art and literature that Pär Lagerkvist would use as directives are the ancient art forms of India, Egypt, and Greece, and such works as the Icelandic sagas, Kalevala, the Greek tragedies, the Bible, and mystery plays; in general, ancient art or the art of the Middle Ages.

The qualities which Pär Lagerkvist had deduced from his study of early art and literature as well as of modern art and which he wanted to embody in his writing might be tabulated as follows: *Simplicity of Style and Organization*; a *Characterization* not closely analytic but limited to the sketching in of a few main characters in the round, through a few dominant traits; a *Focusing of the scene on a central point*; a *Rhythm of Style* to conform with changes of plot and above all a *Totality of Effect*. According to the theories of Pär Lagerkvist, drama should never be naturalistic but instead it should have the fantasy, the movement that corresponds to modern life; it should be an interplay of strange forces from the depths of modern life. The cues here are the later plays of August Strindberg in respect to form, and the flux of modern life as to content. As is apparent from the foregoing discussion, Pär Lagerkvist has attempted an artistic fusion of elements from modern art, early literature, his own personal spiritual life and the emotions and moods of modern life. The results as revealed in his works seem very

simple but are really complex in their revelation of deep emotions and moods of the modern world.

It cannot be too firmly asserted that Pär Lagerkvist is primarily an artist, not a philosopher; according to his own code of the early treatise, the writer should be artistic as to his observation, artistic as to the creative development of his work, and artistic in extreme seriousness. To consider Pär Lagerkvist mainly as a philosophical thinker is a pitfall into which some modern critics are stumbling.

To explain the various ways in which Pär Lagerkvist applies his theories would require an extensive discussion. Throughout a long career he has worked in many forms such as, for instance, the early raucous symbolistic experiments resembling the paintings of Munch (*Two Sagas*, *Motif*, *Men*); the deeply pessimistic studies of death and annihilation (*Iron and Men*, *The Last Man*, *The Anguished Hour*), in which he uses a flux of consciousness technique like that of the German expressionists; the grand, profoundly moving visions (*The Eternal Smile*, *The Invisible One*) similar to the cult dramas of the Hindus or Greeks; the gracefully turned, appealing stories (*The Battling Spirit*, *Evil Sagas*); the meditation (*The Conquered Life*); the many exquisitely turned, subtle lyrics; the revealing autobiography (*The Guest of Reality*); the tableaux of evil (*The Dwarf*, *The Executioner*); the masterly plays (*The Man Without a Soul*, *The Man Who Returned to Live his Life Over Again*) with their depths of feeling and spiritual insight, and so on. There is a gradual progress in hope and faith but no final solution or acceptance of any final code of philosophy or religion. Life is always a flux of opposites, but in the midst of this flux are abiding realities, such as, for instance, the Greek-inspired humanism of the West; love, in life's ordinary relations; and especially the aspiring spirit of man, deathless and unconquerable.

In line with Pär Lagerkvist's artistic code, we shall try to analyze one of his works, the last one, *Barabbas*, which has appeared in an English translation. It may be visualized as a series of fifteen dramatic scenes, drawn from, and elaborated on, the Biblical story of Barabbas. It reminds one of the medieval miracle or Bible plays given at stations in a church, or on

pageant wagons, which in themselves were stations. In a similar way the book resembles a morality play like the famous *Everyman*, in which the hero, after having received the summons of Death, moves along on his last journey, to be repudiated by characters such as Fellowship and Goods, and supported by other characters such as Knowledge and Good Deeds, until he crawls into his grave.

A full artistic analysis of *Barabbas* as a miracle play would call for a rather detailed exposition. The main stations that *Barabbas* occupies in his progress are: At the foot of the Cross of Christ; In the valleys; In the copper mines and the mill; At the foot of the second cross, the cross of Sahak, his Christian friend; In Rome; On his own cross. Along the way there are many effective scenes involving characters such as the hare-lipped woman, Peter (on several occasions), Lazarus, the Roman governor, with subtle pictorial effects, artistic contrasts of many kinds, and intense dramatic tension. Always there is, as so frequently in the author's many works, a weaving together of opposites in the journey between three crosses.

Barabbas, the central character, is a strange blend of good and evil; a creature produced by an adverse environment and so in a way not responsible for his perversities; he is never able to believe in Christ or to accept his message but nevertheless is always affected by his memories of Christ. He has symbolized, to some critics, modern man perverted by scientific thinking and thus made insensible to the spiritual. Critics in Sweden have tended possibly to overload Barabbas with symbolic significance. In the opinion of the author of this article, Barabbas is simply the central character of a mystery play or a painting; there may be many symbolic connotations, but they may present themselves differently to different persons and should not be formulated too closely.

All the qualities of art which Pär Lagerkvist has striven to achieve are certainly embodied in this great work. The simplicity is there, combined with many implications and nuances, with fine pictorial detail and sometimes even with brutal realism. The focal scene is the crucifixion of Christ, a theme repeated twice in the crucifixions of Sahak and Barabbas with the other

Christians; the few characters are studied in the round from a few vivid details, as in medieval drama; the style is rhythmically adapted to changes in subject matter, and all is submerged in one grand all-encompassing totality.

The underlying purpose of the novel *Barabbas*, as well as of the other works of Pär Lagerkvist, is an artistic one (as his critical theories would suggest). The primary object, in my opinion, is not philosophical, although there may be many implications and symbolic overtones appealing in different ways to different readers, as in the works of Nathaniel Hawthorne or William Faulkner; one should avoid the temptation of overloading the work of art with a crushing load of critical interpretations.

The novel *Barabbas* should be allowed to set forth its artistic message, as a miracle play of fifteen scenes recording dramatically the journey of Barabbas. Or it may be described as a series of panel pictures or frescoes, like those of Renaissance painters, setting forth the plan of salvation in the manner of Michael Angelo's frescoes on the ceiling of the Sistene Chapel. Or if we draw an analogy from another art, it is a grand Bachian fugue weaving together the opposites of life: the light and the dark; the physical and the spiritual; the good and the evil; a fugue in which there is a clash of life's discordant elements, which somehow results in a wonderful harmony.

HUMOR AND SATIRE IN STRINDBERG'S "THE ISLAND OF PARADISE"

ADOLPH B. BENSON

Yale University

ABOUT twenty years ago Frida Uhl, Strindberg's second wife, came to America, hoping to induce a number of American professors who knew Swedish to translate all such works by her former husband as had not been translated before, about forty in number. Twenty had already appeared in English. How many translators she succeeded in obtaining for her plan will probably never be known—I know of only one other beside myself—but there must have been others. Personally, I never met the lady; but she wrote me, asking me to translate three of Strindberg's works. Possibly flattered by having my name connected with that of an internationally known couple, I accepted and did what was asked. I sent her the manuscripts; she liked them, she said—perhaps because she did not know English too well—and proceeded to find publishers. It then turned out that she had no legal rights to publish *anything* by Strindberg, so that today the MSS are still lying unpublished somewhere in New York, I know not where. The publication of Strindberg's works, incidentally, had long been the proverbial hornets' nest, the author, it is said, having during his lifetime promised various publishers the *sole* right to publish his writings. At all events, for obvious reasons, I never heard again from Frida Uhl.

And why mention this? Because among the three works she asked *me* to translate was *De lycksaligas ö*, which in this paper I have freely rendered by "The Island of Paradise," literally "The Island of the Blessed," and the fun I had in translating it is at least in some measure a recompense for my labor. It is a satire on the development of civilization. Few critics, so far as I have learned, pay any attention to it, but it is one of the most interesting, not to say fascinating, tales that Strindberg ever wrote. Once I believed that it was just an attempt to show how witty and humorous a story he could write; but now I am

quite convinced that *The Island of Paradise* is one of the bitterest satires ever concocted. It was written about 1884 as a part of *Svenska öden och äventyr*, when Strindberg had a grudge, it seems, against the whole world, especially against royalty, the Church, professionals, and anyone "successful" in life. He sponsored the lower classes, even those technically rated as criminals, since the latter were the logical products of society, he intimated, and were not themselves responsible for their deeds.

As some of you will recall, the narrative is localized in about the seventeenth century, and though artistically "historical," it is except for certain backgrounds entirely fictitious in fact. A shipload of about five hundred passengers, most of them criminals, set out from Fort Älvsborg on *The Swedish Lion*, bound for New Sweden, an insinuation in itself which is grossly exaggerated. The ship never gets to New Sweden, because on the way the vessel is wrecked on an island with an ideal climate and all the tropical fruit needed for sustenance. Everything is lost except the clothes worn at the time of the wreckage, and the lifeboats. Since everyone now owns the same amount of property—a bed of leaves under a coconut tree—and there is no work necessary, the conditions, according to Strindberg, are ideal. In other words, a paradise has been reached. Since there is no tree of knowledge on the island to tempt the people, there could be no sin there; since no ordained clergyman was present (but see below), there could be no church tyranny or administration; and no law was needed, for everybody was provided for by nature. There could be no jealousy or poverty-producing crime, since everyone had as much as everyone else.

But there is always a snake in the grass. Among the passengers were two students, Lasse Hulling and Peter Snagg, who like the ordinary criminals had been exiled from their native land, and in the case of the students for refusing to believe that Sweden was the cradle of civilization (an obvious attack on Rudbeck's *Atlantica*, which had preached this gospel). Lasse Hulling, as we shall see later, was a born leader; and Peter Snagg had ecclesiastical leanings, feeling that he should be or-

dained pastor of the group, because he had once passed the required examination (for ordination) in Hebrew. This was ruled out, however, since there was no bishop to perform the ordination. And other things had taken place en route. *The Swedish Lion* had run into a frightful storm and, led by the ship's pastor Axonius, the suggestion had been made to imitate the actions in the Biblical tale of Jonah and pitch all the criminals overboard. No wonder there was a storm! But the criminals, now in the majority and free of their chains and happy, objected strenuously. A day of general confession was proposed in which everyone was to confess his or her sins. The criminals had already confessed, long ago, so only the others remained. It was found that no one was without sin. Then someone suggested that the parson himself should confess. Tied to a mast, he finally confessed to a rather severe youthful indiscretion, whereupon *he* was hurled into the ocean. (He appears miraculously again later.) The storm, however, did not subside and the ship, as noted, was later wrecked on The Island of Paradise.

In the meantime, it was discovered one day that the Island was volcanic; that it was about to erupt; and the colony—which in the interim of three years had increased considerably—just had time to get into the lifeboats and put off, when the Island blew up. The loaded boats drifted and drifted towards more northern and colder climates until they struck another land, apparently in the temperate zone. Here is where trouble and so-called civilization began. Members of the group had to *work*, to clothe and feed themselves.

At this point it should be added that the only factor which troubled the criminals was *memory*; they could not wholly forget the past. Strindberg takes care of this dilemma by letting everybody, except Lasse Hulling, discover and eat berries which removed all remembrances of past experience. Lasse refused to eat the berries, for he felt that somewhere memory of bygone historical events might be helpful. Even the old pastor, Axonius, who mysteriously reappears on the Island, must have eaten of the berries, for when he and Lasse meet again the latter is amazed at the pastor's tale of having visited a country—after his

sojourn on the ocean—in which people practiced a horrible idolatry known as the Nicean religion, i.e., Christianity. He had forgotten that he had once preached the same “terrible” creed.

As the party lands in a colder climate and has to *labor*, Lasse alone knows and sees the future from experiences of the past. And note Strindberg’s social and economic philosophy: paradise is a place where you do not have to *work*. Can any sane person imagine a worse hell than a place where you could *not* work? The author is wrong, mad. Happiness is not idleness, and none knew that better than Strindberg himself. His own experienced types of hell were many, but they would have been more had he been idle. Incidentally, Strindberg introduces an example of light, inoffensive humor in the first part of his story, indicating at the same time man’s tendency to quarrel about a trifle: it is an argument about the question whether a tobacco leaf might in an emergency be substituted for a fig leaf in Paradise apparel.

In what may be termed the second part of *The Island of Paradise* comes the satire of modern civilization, which passes through all stages—those of primitive man, followed by those of the more or less nomadic fishing and hunting stage, the agricultural era, and, finally, the industrial or modern period. At first, except for occasional personal feuds about the capture of raw animal food, the life is relatively peaceful. But one day a member of the group discovers flint, or firestone, by which one could start a fire. Then the real trouble begins. Man’s selfishness comes at once to the fore. The discoverer wants a monopoly on his discovery, and a compromise trading agreement necessarily results, with food and service given in return for the firestone. The same thing happens when, in turn, copper and iron are discovered. Bargains have to be made, the discoverer insisting on being fed in return for the discovered products. Hunters, seeing their grounds invaded by the incipient farmers, rise in revolt; boundary adjustments have to be made; and soldiers and other authorities have to be appointed to see that orders are carried out. Social conditions get so complex that eventually Lasse Hulling, the only one with a memory of the past, in order to inspire proper respect and dignity has himself in a grotesque ceremony pro-

claimed king, Lasse I, by Uffka, in whom we recognize the old Pastor Axonius. Prior to his death, surrounded by a convincing guard of soldiers, Lasse I has his son proclaimed successor, as Lasse II Axel, whose chief object in office was to circulate the greatness of his paternal predecessor.

The reign of Lasse I had been one of quarrels, law enactments, inheritance laws, the recruiting of soldiers ("idlers"), the preaching of the fire-and-brimstone religion to frighten the people, plundering, and pondering why some people must work and others draw benefits from the workers' labor. A robber nobility developed; women became dependent on the men; and only by vigorous preaching of the hell doctrine was order maintained. At first, in order to get married a couple interested had only to notify Uffka, who then gave them a lecture on the hell faith, and the ceremony was over. At his coronation everyone had to swear that Lasse was sent by God, and for the sake of greater dignity he called himself Lasse I de Hulling von Japhetson. Many who knew Lasse as of old had no respect for him, but he had the power, through soldiers, and so the others yielded to him. But the younger generation could not be crushed. Children became unmanageable, and schools, i.e., "whipping institutions," were established. Says Strindberg: "Every village should have a torture room, where the children might be shut in for six years and by means of semi-starvation and daily thrashing with a stick get accustomed to slavery" (Part VIII). "Those who lied the best and were the falsest were called 'good' children and got gingerbread and honey in the comb: those who told the truth and were honest got a whipping and no food. With that the foundation of education was laid." "All that moral law taught was false," says the author.

Strindberg was extraordinarily bitter against the forms of current education, and his picture of them is certainly often palpably unjust. (Sixty years ago *I* saw the stick used in Swedish schools, but not often; and not on anyone who behaved himself.) Lasse had many laws made. For instance: no one might take unto himself a wife unless he owned 12 acres of land and had Uffka's (the priest's) permission. Also, since people gradually

got tired of the hell religion, Lasse changed it to one promising heavenly glory for eternity, especially to those who during lifetime had suffered great pains or poverty.

"To enlighten the lower class" Lasse induced by subsidies a few deadbeats (who did not want to work) to write verses extolling the conditions and higher authorities. But too many poets emerged, so a coterie of seventeen of the worst singers, called "The Infallibles," was chosen, whose model of song was law, even if all verses were sung to the same tune. (This is, of course, an attack on the Swedish Academy of 18 "Immortals.") Upon the death of Lasse I the Seventeen Infallibles wrote eulogistic songs about his active life.

Lasse II Axel (a humorous reference to Swedish royal nomenclature, such as Gustaf II Adolf) adopted as his motto "Folkets kärlek näst min lön" (*The Love of the People next to my Salary*), a satire on the motto of Charles XIV John (Bernadotte), whose motto was "Folkets kärlek min belöning" (*The Love of the People is my Reward*), a master stroke of irony. *Lön*, as you know, may mean either *reward* or *salary*, hence in connection with Lasse the meaning is definite: salary, first, and love of the people, second, in importance. The first official act of Lasse II, as noted above, was to have the Infallibles write a masterpiece about his father, in which he was called "The Great." But another group, the Malcontents, answered by another story in which Lasse I was named "The Stupid Hulling." In the interim the number of upper-class children increased enormously. To reward them for not being forced to steal or murder, says Strindberg, they were given stipends for travel and research. One such discovered a dead language on wooden tablets and was ultimately made professor of the Schoscho dialect. Another collected cones and became professor of coneology. And still a third wrote a dissertation on "The Necessity of Collecting Buttons from a Scientific Viewpoint." His dissertation was no ordinary affair: he not only classified buttons with holes as buttons with one hole, buttons with two holes, etc., but went deeper into the subject with buttons *without* holes, buttons without one hole, buttons without two holes, etc. He was, of course, immediately appointed Professor of buttonology. Here Strindberg's attack on dry-as-dust

and often useless scholarship is certainly unique and borders on genius.

Lasse II Axel died and was termed The Wise. His son, Anders VII (another stab at Swedish historical naming) ascended the throne, and during his reign art developed. The "mania" continued under royal protection. One day Anders VII had fifty "maniacs" draw one and the same chair leg. No two proved to be alike and philosophers explained that this difference was due to "individual conception." When content and form of the chair leg harmonized, it became a thing of beauty. One artist ventured to sketch a picture of Anders VII which was anything but flattering. He was then, under penalty of death, commanded to alter his ideas of Anders VII, whereupon he became professor and court painter, and Anders became the "Patron of Art."

Anders VII was succeeded by Per Eric I. He had a Book of Kings prepared which eulogized all monarchs from Lasse I to Per Eric. The latter loved glory and especially conquest in war of other peoples' property, such as clocks and money. A pamphlet was written by the Malcontents about the crimes of the Huling dynasty, but the author and his pamphlet were burned.

With Per Eric I the Huling dynasty died out, so an expedition was sent out which returned with "something" that was hastily baptized and crowned. He was named Lasse III, supposedly related to Lasse I. Lasse III died and was called Saint Lasse. During the reign of his successor, Per II Eric, a terrible religious war broke out between two parties, the Forks and the Tongs, terms originating from the fact that one party insisted that the damned in hell were pinched with tongs, whereas the other claimed that they were stabbed with forks (probably an echo of a political feud in the eighteenth century between the Caps and the Hats in the Swedish *riksdag*). During the reign of the next king, Jöns I Philip, dramatic entertainment was introduced; and Jöns II Peter started the state newspaper.

Part XI of Strindberg's diatribe deals with the industrial age, the "prattling system" or parliamentary procedures, and "absurdities" of the modern government in general. The useful was despised and the useless honored. "It was more glorious to

draw an apple, which gave the artist the title of professor or knight, than to raise an apple tree, which merely increased one's taxes." Policemen's duties are ridiculed; tariffs are, of course, represented as introduced to protect individual interests; boys become slaves; girls are seduced; priests abuse the people; and laboring men are forced to work by military power. Parliament decreed once that "the State would crumble if the public did not provide a salary and a professorship for a man who had stuck a large number of beetles on zinc pins." Parties flourished. One was called the "Communist or The Small Birds' School, which strove for a coalition of the small, the sick, the weak, the stupid, and the lazy," whereby the right of the weaker to suppress the stronger was sanctified. (What would Strindberg have thought of the Communists today?) It was all a struggle for social betterment. But, really, the modern State was anything but an "Island of Paradise."

The above review will suffice to illustrate, by examples, Strindberg's 60-page invective, so far as humor and satire are concerned, the latter being so obvious that it requires but little analysis, if any. Both are too often unjust. But every line is entertaining, and the tale tells us much about Strindberg. The story was possibly a frantic attempt to get certain venomous ideas out of his system.

THE VAGABOND IN THE LIFE AND POETRY OF ERIK AXEL KARLFELDT

FREDERIC FLEISHER

University of Stockholm, Sweden

THE theme of the *löskekarl* (*vagabond*) is predominant throughout the works of Karlfeldt (pseudonym for Erik Axel Eriksson). It is to be found in all his poetry, but especially in the two Fridolin books. Olof Lagercrantz, one of today's outstanding Swedish critics, points out that the wind, which appears in most Karlfeldt's poems, is symptomatic of the spirit of the vagabond, travelling as it does with complete freedom. And the vagabond envies the wind, which is not limited by worldly barriers.

Born in 1864 in the heart of the province of Dalarna, Karlfeldt wrote profusely about the area around his childhood home, its people, customs, and landscape. Karlfeldt has contributed more to modern regional culture than any other Swedish poet.

Karlfeldt was thirty-one years old when his first collection of poems was printed. In the second poem of this collection the vagabond introduces himself with these words: "I am a vagabond of poetry, defenseless in the realm of inspiration." This sentiment runs through most of Karlfeldt's works until his last collection, "The Horn of Autumn."

His high-school years were spent in Västerås, where in 1885 he took the Swedish "studentexam," receiving high marks. Shortly afterwards his father went bankrupt, which misfortune led to the beginning of his "rootless" life. The following autumn he went to Uppsala University as the "Farmer Student." The late Ruben Berg, one of the outstanding Swedish authorities on Karlfeldt and Fröding, said that it was probably the help received from his mother's friends that enabled Karlfeldt to continue his studies. His years at Uppsala were full of interruptions, as he travelled to many parts of the country as a private tutor. Finally in 1892, Karlfeldt received his degree of Filosofie Kandidat (B.A.) in literature and English. The following autumn he became a teacher at Djursholms samskola, outside Stockholm. He held this post for two years.

In 1895 he accepted a teaching position at a "People's College" in Värmland, where he stayed only a school year. The reasons for his departure are still unknown, but it is believed that he may have had an unfortunate love affair. After the year in Värmland, Karlfeldt returned to Uppsala to begin work on his Licentiat degree in literature, which occupied about two and a half years. During this stay in Uppsala, his poetry was discovered by Gustav Fröding, who wrote these words to his friend Verner von Heidenstam: "A young Uppsala poet by the name of Karlfeldt I predict will be the new literary epoch's Heidenstam." This was the highest praise Fröding could bestow.

After taking his degree, Karlfeldt served as a librarian at the Royal Library in Stockholm, then at the Agricultural Academy, and then back at the Royal Library. By 1904 he was becoming known as a poet, and one far above the average.

Eight years after being elected to the Swedish Academy in 1912, Karlfeldt wrote a memorial sketch about the seventeenth-century Swedish poet Lasse Lucidor (Lars Johansson). Lucidor was a vagabond, travelling around the whole of Europe and not interested in the customs of society. It is believed that Karlfeldt has reflected much of his own life in this work about Lucidor.

The strongest influence upon Karlfeldt came from Fröding, who was the only person to see the manuscript of "Fridolin's Songs" before publication, in which Fröding suggested some alterations, many of which Karlfeldt accepted. Fröding in return was influenced by Karlfeldt, as can be readily seen from the poem "A Poor Monk from Skara," in which the word *löskemän* appears. Jöran Mjöberg, former lecturer in Scandinavian literature at Harvard University, says: "Karlfeldt has probably created the word *löskekarl* through the contamination of the expressions *en löske man* and *löskekarlar*."

Karlfeldt was close to forty when he married and it is believed that he had previously suffered from some rather unhappy love affairs, but this point is, as yet, uncertain inasmuch as he destroyed much of his own material and left implicit instructions to his heirs to keep his papers private.

Torsten Fogelqvist, who succeeded to the seat in the Swedish Academy vacated by Karlfeldt's death and who has written the

most comprehensive biography of the poet, said: "Karlfieldt held even to the end of his life the searching point of view which he had already declared in *En löskerkarl* [*A Vagabond*]" ; and adds that "he was both too strong in his feelings of independence to let his life be recorded and too tender and quiet about his inner secrets to allow himself any more or less open confession."

REVIEWS

Haugen, Einar. *First Grammatical Treatise: The Earliest Germanic Phonology: An Edition, Translation, and Commentary*. Language Monograph, No. 25; Supplement to *Language*, Journal of the Linguistic Society of America, Vol. 26, No. 4. Waverly Press, Inc., Baltimore, 1950. Pp. 64.

REVIEWED BY ALBERT MOREY STURTEVANT, *University of Kansas*.

This excellent monograph on the *First Grammatical Treatise* by Professor Einar Haugen represents the first attempt in English to present an interpretation of this valuable document which reveals the medieval approach to the application of Latin orthography to the phonological status of the ON language during the twelfth century. Professor Haugen has here furnished us with a scholarly analysis, remarkably clear, logically arranged, accurate in details, and, above all, original and sound in approach—his mastery of phonetics and phonemic analysis has enabled him to give us a more adequate impression of the value of this treatise than has heretofore existed. On account of its vital bearing upon our modern conception of the relation of sound to letter, the monograph deserves a much more detailed discussion than the present reviewer can give in the limited space available in *SS*. He can therefore point out only the most salient features of Professor Haugen's exposition.

The work is divided into five chapters: I. *General Introduction*; II. *Text and Translation*; III. *The First Grammarian's Phonology*; IV. *The First Grammarian's Theory of Orthography*; V. *Background and Personality*.

Chapter I (5-8) presents a brief history of the editions of the manuscript of the *First Grammatical Treatise* (FGT), contained in the *Codex Wormianus*, together with the literature upon its interpretation. From the methods employed by the First Grammarian (FG) it seems evident that he did not intend his treatise for use as an elementary textbook, but as a guide to enable scholars to correct learned rather than vulgar errors. Among the medieval innovators of orthographic reform the anonymous FG is the only one who has left an account of his orthographic prin-

ciples and a persuasive program of reform. His treatise is therefore of vital interest to all modern students of language since it deals with the crucial problem of the relation of letter to sound. He based his reforms fundamentally upon the sound values of the medieval Latin letters, which he applied to his native tongue. This procedure led him to the discovery of minimal oppositional pairs, corresponding to the modern construction of phonemes. Wherever his results can be checked, they agree with the known facts as determined by phonemic analysis. There is no evidence that the FG observed the reformed spellings in his own orthography except in his illustrative examples, or that his countrymen ever adopted his orthographic principles.

Chapter II (9-30) furnishes the Icelandic text and an English translation, with introductory remarks on the peculiarities and inconsistencies in the orthography of the text. The translation is accurate and preserves a clarity which the FG's awkward style frequently obscures. In the edition of Verner Dahlerup and Finnur Jónsson (*Den første og anden grammatiske afhandling i Snorres Edda*, Copenhagen, 1886) it was assumed that the FGT was written entirely in the reformed spelling; consequently, the editors prepared a completely restored text according to the rules stated by the FG. Against the validity of this procedure Professor Haugen points out the fact that aside from the author's examples and the alphabet the list of reformed spellings is confined to *ea* for *ia*, *K* for *cc*, *g* for *ng*, and *N* for *nn*; hence it is far more likely that the FG wrote his treatise in a fairly traditional spelling, limiting his more striking reforms to his examples. Therefore, Professor Haugen has normalized the body of the Icelandic text into the usual textbook spelling, retaining the FG's reformed spelling only in the examples. In the Icelandic text these are italicized, and when the normalized spellings are markedly different, these are added in parentheses. In the English translation, the English words representing the examples are italicized and the restored FG forms added in parentheses. The Icelandic text is supplied with footnotes, which, however, are kept to a minimum, referring only to emendated forms, or the forms that may possibly go back to the FG himself. These practical devices furnish the American student with as simple

an apparatus as possible to enable him to grasp the essentials of the FG's principles of orthography.

Chapter III (31-39) presents an analysis of the FG's phonology. The basic principle of his orthographic reform is that difference in function should determine differences in writing. He begins with the vowels, assuming the familiar five vowels of the Latin alphabet, *a, e, i, o, u*, and their function in ON. To these he adds four new ones, the umlauted vowels *ø, ē, ø, y*, although he could not have had any conception of the phonological process of umlaut. He identifies the new vowels in terms of the old ones, contrasting them according to the degree of their *open* or *closed* quality. His use of this principle of new vowel symbols for new phonetic values corresponds closely to the modern descriptive method of using minimally distinguished word pairs for establishing phonemic contrasts.

After establishing these nine vowel timbres, he shows that each of these can be multiplied by four, resulting in thirty-six distinctions. He does this by setting up a binary opposition for each: oral vs. nasal, short vs. long. There can be long oral and long nasal vowels, and short oral and short nasal vowels. Many of his examples are words in which the vowel was still followed or preceded by a nasal consonant, but this fact is not significant unless the vowel nasalization persisted after the nasal consonant had disappeared. That this nasalization persisted up to the time when the FG lived is matched by its survival in certain Mod. Swed. dialects and attested through etymological evidence furnished by the FG's examples; cf. *fēr* "gets" with nasalized *ē* (**fanh* < IE **pank*-, cf. Lat. *pango* "strike"), but *fēr* "sheep" without nasalized vowel (**fahaz* < IE **pokos*, cf. Gk. *πέκος* "sheepskin").

As for diphthongs, it is evident that the shift of falling to rising diphthong had already occurred in the twelfth century, for it is only the first element of such diphthongs which the FG discusses as involving an orthographical problem. He identifies the diphthongal elements *i-* and *-i* with stressed *i*, and *w-* and *-w* with stressed *u*, thus revealing *w-* and *-w* as allophones of *u*.

As for consonants, he determines the position in which they

can occur as single or geminated, thus clarifying their quantity and distribution. He argues against the practice of writing a single consonant for a geminate and favors the use of small capitals instead of double letters "to save time and parchment." His phonetic information is largely restricted to a determination of relationships: one vs. two units. His failure to provide two symbols for voiced and unvoiced *þ* Professor Haugen explains as due to the FG's phonemic principle of designating phonetic differences *only* when these distinguished *words*. For the velar nasal *n* plus *g* he proposes new single symbol *g**, but permits the scribe to keep the double symbols (*ng*) since the double and the single symbols could not possibly be confused with each other (cf. *hringr*: *hrigr*).

In Chapter IV (40-55) Professor Haugen elucidates the FG's theory of orthography. Although well acquainted with English orthography, the FG stood fundamentally under the traditional influence of the medieval Latin grammarians. This influence is, first of all, clear from his conception of the "letter" = *stafr* (Lat. *littera*) as the unit of discourse (cf. Donatus, *Ars Minor*). *Stafr* represented for the FG something far more comprehensive than our modern "letter" in that it designated not only "sound," but also various qualities or attributes of "sound." These he classifies as: (1) *nafrn* "name," (2) *vextr*, *likneski* "shape," and (3) *atkvæði*, *hljóð*, *jartein* "sound," a three-fold distinction obviously based upon Donatus' three *accidentia* (*nomen*, *figura*, *potestas* "name, shape, power") of the *littera* (cf. *Ars Grammatica*). The *stafr* represents the abstract entity (*noumenon*), whereas the "shape" and "sound" represent the perceptible phenomena of the written symbol. Professor Haugen discusses in detail these three distinctions. He shows that the GF's primary interest was that the "name" of the letter should correspond to its phonetic value in connected discourse; that the original "shape" of his symbols is uncertain, but where his letters are sharply contrasted with those of the rest of the *Codex*, they are probably original; that of the three terms cor-

* The FG did not use a special symbol (*g*) for velar *n*, and his crossed *g* had a form somewhat different from the one which typographical exigencies have made it necessary to use here.

responding to Latin *potestas*, *hljóð* "sound" was the popular term, *alkvæði* translates Latin *pronuntiatio* (cf. *kveða at* "to pronounce"), whereas *jarlein* refers more to the "significance" of the sounds in connected discourse, their "function" rather than to their sound mass.

To his phonemic principles the FG added the practical consideration of "the economy of symbols": all symbols should be rejected that duplicate the sound values of others already established. Hence he rejects, e.g., Latin *k* and *q* in favor of *c*, since *c* was not palatalized (*ts*) in ON as was the FG's Latin *c* before palatals. Connected with this principle of "the economy of symbols" is the FG's principle of *frequency*. Hence he rejects, e.g., the letter *z* in favor of its component phonetic elements *d* and *s* because the cluster *ds* so rarely occurred in ON, but favors the retention of the letter *x* for *cs* because this combination occurred much more frequently than did *ds*, both in stems (*lax*, *vaxa*) and in possessives (*þaks*, *leiks*).

V. The final chapter (56-62) furnishes a summary of the FG's cultural contacts and an evaluation of his personality as reflecting these contacts. His learning was distinguished by his sturdy common sense, which enabled him to modify native and classical tradition into a doctrine of practical orthography. His references to Greek, Hebrew, and Gaelic were probably derived from his knowledge of Latin. In spite of the fact that he inherited some of the absurdities of the medieval Latin grammarians and their lack of historical perspective of language, he nevertheless brought order out of chaos. One of the reasons why his orthographical reform left so little influence upon ON orthography was that the changes in Icelandic pronunciation within the generation following the FG were so radical that his system could not be maintained. Some of his orthographic reforms, however, still occur sporadically; e.g., capitals for geminates, kappa for *cc*, a ligature for *ng*, and *c* for *k* and *q*.

As to the anonymous author of the FGT, Professor Haugen favors his identification with Hallr Teitsson (1085-1150) in preference to Bishop Þórlák (1133-1193), Þóroddr rúnameistari, and Eyjólfir Sæmundsson, all of whom have been proposed as possible candidates. The FGT reveals the author as belonging

to Europe's Twelfth-Century Renaissance and as a personality of wide and human interests.

The text of the monograph is provided with an *Index of Words and Topics* (63-64). The work is beautifully printed. Misprints are few and not disturbing: the omission of the vowels *o* and *ø* in certain forms of the verb *mono* (p. 18), which I cannot quote here because the Icelandic characters are not available to our printer; "grammarians" (p. 45, lines 3-4) for *grammars*; and "Eyólfir" (p. 60, two lines from bottom) for *Eyjólfir*.

Professor Haugen's scholarly elucidation of the *First Grammatical Treatise* is a notable contribution to ON philology. The most valuable factor in his exposition is his justification of the FG's principles of orthography under the restrictions imposed by medieval Latin tradition. To this end he has employed the methods of modern scholarship and has thus revealed the FG in his true perspective.

Sprenger, Ulrike. *Praesens Historicum und Praeteritum in der Alisländischen Saga*. Basler Studien zur Deutschen Sprache und Literatur 11. Basel (Schwabe) 1931. Pp. 144.

REVIEWED BY LEE M. HOLLANDER, *University of Texas*.

The author of this monograph once more takes up for study the problem of the function of the historical present in the sagas. It was treated before by W. Lehmann in his Würzburg dissertation, 1939.¹ She proceeds from the general consideration that the historical present is the basic tense of the sagas just as it is, as we all know, of the oral popular narrative. Instead of regarding the material as homogeneous, she very properly investigates the style of the earliest sagas, of the middle and of the end of the 13th century. She finds that in general the historical present, after predominating in the earliest sagas, gradually loses its ascendancy. And this is just what was to be expected with growing literacy—anywhere. Nor is there any need to seek the reason for it in any influence, whether from the style of the Romantic *Riddara sogur* or the clerical historic literature, the

¹ Cf. the review in *Language* (1941, p. 74 f.) by the present writer, where Lehmann's conclusions were shown to be untenable.

Biskupa sögur etc., which latter the author considers more probable.

It is a very different matter to apply conclusions reached on this score—even if they were far less dubious and tenuous—to the question of “Free Prose” vs. “Book Prose” origin of the Family Sagas. The author thinks she has established a typically oral form of the earlier sagas, with certain standing locutions, as against a later literary form, in which these are lacking, and that these two modes of narrative are fundamentally different. Granting this—which I do not for one moment—it would be natural to make the classification of bookish vs. popular sagas. Very much to the contrary the present writer would urge to reflect that once the characteristic turns and manner of saga narrative—oral in their origin, if you please—were established, they became the property of later authors who did not dream of consciously striving for originality in theme or language but naturally conformed to a usage already familiar to their audience. Far from being fundamentally different the later style is of the same rugged substance, with a few of the rough edges smoothed down. For that matter, it is the height of naïveté to consider predominating historical present or preterite alone as sufficiently distinctive attributes of early or late saga style.

Returning to the supposed stylistic difference between preterite and historical present: I am strongly of the opinion, after going through the cases adduced, that this supposed difference is largely due to self-deception. Rather than going into each case let me quote a passage from *Fóstbræðra saga*, easily contemporaneous with *Heiðarvíg saga*,² used by the author to exemplify the earliest style, reversing the tenses; and I challenge anyone to tell which is the original.

þá vill Þorgrímr upp rísa af stólinum. Þormóðr hjó þá í höfuð honum ok klauf hann í herðar niðr, bregðr síðan ǫxinni undir feld sinn ok settisk undir herðar Þorgrími ok kallaði: . . . Nú snérusk margir þangat ok sá áverkann. Þeir fréttu, hvat hann vissi till þess manns er á Þorgrími vann. Þormóðr svaraði: . . . þá setjask þeir undir herðar Þorgrími, en Þormóðr ferr í brott. Hann gekk þá fram með sjónum fyrir nes nokkurt; hann snéri þá feldinum ok lætr þá

² Ca. 1200; cf. *Fornritafélag* ed. (1943), p. lxxii. The passage is from chap. 23 (pp. 233–234).

horfa út it hvíta. En er Egill heyrði brestinn, . . . hleypir hann þá heim til búðar Skúfs. Menn gótu at líta, hvar maðr hleypir, ok ætla, at sá myndi valda áverkum við Þorgrím. Egill er stórum hræddr, er hann sér manna fgr eptir sér ok með vápnum. Ok er hann er handtekinn, þá skelfir á honum leggr ok liðr sakar hræzlu. En þegar er þeir kenna Egil, þá þykkjask þeir vita, at . . . Rennr hræzla af honum sem hiti af járn. Nu fóru þeir í búðirnar ok leituðu mannsins ok funnu eigi.

Þá vildi Þorgrímur upp rísa af stólinum. Þormóðr hógr þá í hofuð honum ok klýfr hann í herðar niðr, brá síðan óxinni undir feld sinn ok sezk undir herðar Þorgrími ok kallar: . . . Nú snúask margir þangat ok sjá áverkann. Þeir fréttu, hvat hann veit til þess manns, er á Þorgrími vann. Þormóðr svarar: . . . Þá settusk þeir undir herðar Þorgrími, en Þormóðr fór í brott. Hann gengr þá fram með sjónum fyrir nes nokkurt; hann snýr þá feldinum ok lét þá horfa út it hvíta. En er Egill heyrir brestinn, . . . hljóp hann þá heim til búðar Skúfs. Menn geta at líta, hvar maðr hljóp, ok ætluðu, at sá myndi valda áverkum við Þorgrím. Egill varð stórum hræddr, er hann sá manna fgr eptir sér ok með vápnum. Ok er hann var handtekinn, þá skalf á honum leggr ok liðr sakar hræzlu. Er þegar er þeir kenndu Egil, þá þóttusk þeir vita, at . . . Rann hræzla af honum sem hiti af járn. Nú fara þeir í búðirnar ok leita mannsins ok finna eigi.

Hagberg, Knut. *Carl Linnaeus*. Translated from the Swedish by Alan Blair. Jonathan Cape, London, 1952. Published under the auspices of the Anglo-Swedish Literary Foundation. Pp. 264. Illustrated with portrait and some flowers in color. Price, 18s. net.

REVIEWED BY A. B. BENSON, *Yale University*.

Two hundred years ago, 1753, Linnaeus published what he—and many others later—considered to be his best work, *Species Plantarum*, which once and for all established the long-preached principle of the binomial nomenclature in the naming of plants and animals and enumerated those species of plants that were known at the time. It is singularly appropriate, therefore, that the Anglo-Swedish Literary Foundation should at this time publish a translation of Hagberg's *Carl Linnaeus*, a publication which adds greatly, in the reviewer's opinion, to our knowledge of Sweden's greatest cultural figure, a knowledge, incidentally, which in the minds of most people has been unbelievably superficial.

The work before us is not, as the jacket rightly states, a new detailed biography; it is a profound study of Linnaeus's charac-

ter and personality, his virtues and weaknesses as a human being; it presents a clearer emphasis than heretofore, it seems to me, of the early environment and personal influences upon the budding naturalist; it fills in gaps, the existence of which many students have not hitherto even suspected; and in general, without reducing at all the human stature of Linnaeus, submits a strengthening revaluation of his significance as a scientist. We get a different and better picture of him than the current stereotyped one.

We have all known before of Linnaeus's international reputation as a lecturer and his unexampled prolificness as an author, but we have not stopped before to think much about the jealousy that this popularity caused in the academic circles of Uppsala; we have not realized (1) that often, during the latter part of his life especially, Linnaeus was not a happy man; (2) that his wife became selfish and domineering; and (3) that his last few years were exceedingly tragic—at times he did not even remember his own name. We have known that Linnaeus combined science with estheticism and religion and that in addition to Aristotle, Virgil, and Ovid, and modern scientists, his favorite reading was the Bible. We may not have noticed, however, that the God of Linnaeus was primarily the God of Genesis, the Old Testament deity, the God of creation, who in the beginning, it was believed, had created a definite number of species of living things. It caused Linnaeus profound anguish to learn later that what he at first regarded as "monstrosities" of nature turned out to be really new species. Apparently, Nature had taken the place of God. It was a serious challenge to his religious faith. Evolution and Darwinism as universally accepted doctrines were still beyond the horizon.

It will be a revelation to some readers to learn that in some respects, according to Hagberg (and the reviewer agrees), Linnaeus was a personification of contrasts, like Strindberg. Periods of happiness and unhappiness alternated. Ever sensitive, Linnaeus was at times naïve, peevish, and suspicious. And he was certainly not devoid of vanity. He regarded himself as God's appointed interpreter of His creation, although this self-esteem was coupled with a genuine gratefulness to God for this Divine

appointment. There is also in Linnaeus's character a seeming inconsistency in his attitude toward the individual creations of the Deity, a fact perhaps not sufficiently emphasized by Hagberg. For instance, Linnaeus praised the Lord for providing a warm, soft domicile for the gadfly in the hide of the reindeer, and indeed sympathizes with the latter because of the resulting pain and annoyance, but does not attempt to explain the underlying divine or natural plans and motives of the situation. How are the comfort of the gadfly and the pain of the reindeer to be reconciled? Is life, after all, as Linnaeus surmised later, just one grand fight of "all against all"? A fact not brought out by Hagberg, as I remember—and I have read the book twice—is another phase of Linnaeus's attitude toward creation, which on the surface at least seems inconsistent: Linnaeus must have believed that everything created by God was good, and even points out, as a proof, that He gave the rattlesnake poisonous fangs to defend himself, yet he must have hated the sight of snakes since he expressed his horror of Amphibia, frogs and toads. Here is where his sense of beauty clashed with his belief in the essential goodness of *all* creatures.

Yet, Linnaeus was undoubtedly a great genius and through his systematization created order out of chaos, as so many have expressed it, in the scientific world. He was an honest searcher for truth no matter where that search might end, and in his descriptive scientific travelogues of the Swedish provinces, particularly in that of the region of Lapland perhaps, he became the pioneer stylist in Swedish literature. That he became, also, a thinker and philosopher is forcibly illustrated by Hagberg in his chapters on "*Philosophia Humana*" and "*Nemesis Divina*," in the latter of which Linnaeus makes a frantic attempt to establish a causal divine relation between sin or crime and punishment, essaying to prove that suffering and disaster can directly or indirectly be traced to some serious transgression either on the part of the sufferer or to the fault of some ancestor or relative of the family. There he encountered real difficulties.

Hagberg's work has more substance per square unit and arouses more thought than do most books. The translation is excellent, and ends with an Epilogue on Linnaeus in England,

the custodian of his scientific estate. I have discovered only two minor misprints. The volume would be improved by an index; but in any event the book should be added either to your own library or to that of your community if it can boast of any educated or truly intellectual readers.

Scott, Franklin D. (Trans. and ed.). *Baron Klinkowström's America, 1818-1820*. Northwestern University Press, Evanston, Illinois, 1952. With illustration and index. Pp. xiv+262.

REVIEWED BY KENNETH BJORK, *St. Olaf College*.

Baron [*Friherre*] Axel Leonhard Klinkowström, lieutenant-colonel in the "army's fleet" in Sweden, visited the United States, in 1818-1820, on a special mission to study and make drawings of the newly-invented American steamboat. His major task, therefore, was the preparation of formal and technical reports, which he submitted to his government. But he also found time, while on this continent, to write a series of letters in a more popular vein; these contain a rich body of impressions of a society that he came to know well from careful observations and from the insights acquired through association with America's leaders. The letters, addressed to the Swedish public, were published in 1824 at Stockholm as two volumes of text and a third volume of pictures, charts, and maps. The volume under consideration contains twenty-five of the twenty-nine letters included in the original Swedish edition. The omission of several letters and the frequent deletions in the English translation of the others would seem to be justified by the passage of time and a changed reading audience; but this reviewer wishes that the nineteenth letter, advising Swedish businessmen on how to gain a market for their manufactured goods in the United States, had been included.

Klinkowström was an aristocrat of good education and broad culture, a nobleman who had traveled extensively in Europe and obviously possessed rare conversational gifts and a knowledge of the social graces. In any case the drawing rooms and parlors of America's homes, as well as the offices and shops of our military, political, and business leaders in the East, were

opened to the polished European. The information that Klinkowström acquired about the United States in the course of his professional and social calls was put together in a form that offers an unaffected and unpretentious record of a restless, expanding, experimenting nation on the threshold of a greatness almost forced upon it by conditions and circumstances that the Swedish visitor viewed and analyzed with sympathetic understanding. While his book makes no claim to literary skill—and one suspects that the translator was forced again and again to atomize and otherwise to commit assault and battery on the long, clumsy Swedish sentences—it is never dull. At best revealing keen insights and always having the interest that comes from faithful reporting of even the most superficial matters, the letters constitute a worthy addition to a significant body of books written about America by visiting foreigners.

In describing American life Klinkowström was mindful of Peter Kalm's well-known *Travels in North America*, and in fact he asked his readers to compare his letters with the volumes published by the eighteenth-century Swedish traveler—"to find how in such a short space of time this country [*the United States*] has so significantly improved." Present-day readers would do well, in turn, to compare Klinkowström's account with, say, the memoirs of Gustaf Unonius or with Fredrika Bremer's *Homes of the New World*. Such a comparison gives the key to Klinkowström's place in a distinguished company of Swedish writers. Though writing only a short time before Unonius and Bremer, the naval authority—through no fault of his—could neither provide a record of institution-building in the West, with Unonius, nor cry with Bremer as she considered the future of Minnesota: "What a glorious new Scandinavia!" His volume must be accepted for what it is—an earlier study of American life as it was lived and interpreted in the nerve centers of the East.

Professor Scott has accurately expressed the general trend of Klinkowström's writing: "As the months passed the letters developed a surer touch, increased breadth and clarity and profundity. The early letters were largely simple impressions of the country; the later ones were judicious and analytical." Almost

immediately he put his finger on certain American business practices, such as the tendency of certain banks to issue more paper money than they were justified in doing; the creation of a great number of fire insurance companies; and a tendency among businessmen to engage in speculative trading ventures rather than in manufacturing and other lines of business. He considered industry a "stepchild" and "a branch of the national economy that is dwindling away," while "everything is done in this country to help and protect commerce and the merchant marine." But he was shrewd enough to see that "the genuine business sense and the spirit of speculation which is so marked in the people . . . seem to promise that this country in time will take a prominent, yes, almost an exclusive part in world trade." And somewhat plaintively he asked, "What is there that an American will not try?"

To a European of Klinkowström's background the manners of America's men were an abomination. He deplored the fact that men "danced with their hats on," was shocked at the speed with which they gulped their food, and criticized their cold, "republican" attitude toward women. He resented what he thought to be the insolence of the Negro and he found it difficult to accept the freedom with which pigs were allowed to roam the streets of New York. He was unimpressed by the architecture in our public buildings and saw little to admire in the theater, either in Philadelphia or in New York. The theater public, he said, had the same tastes as in England, "where they want much blood on the stage." Plays, he added, were poorly attended because "in all cities of this country there are several sects who consider the theater as sinful."

What interested Klinkowström most, however, and never ceased to arouse his admiration was the freedom found everywhere in America and the failure of Americans generally to abuse it. He was keenly aware, of course, of the liberties granted by the Constitution and in the laws of the country and he described these fully, but the reader of today is more concerned with his observations about freedom in other phases of our life—for example, the freedom inherent in the way the average citizen is treated by the police and in the courtroom. In the

United States, he said, the people "know nothing of opinion-police; one may speak what and how he wishes; thoughts are not subject to police inquiry." He admired the humane and enlightened treatment of the convict in our prisons; the "humble, simple, but dignified social manner" of President Monroe, "not only with strangers but also with his own people"; the friendly courtesy of highly-placed naval men; and the warm hospitality of the people everywhere. If anyone coming to America, he wrote, "considers himself a little lord, he will be looked down upon in this country." Looking into the interior of the continent and contemplating its great promise, Klinkowström concluded: "It is the man with average means, the able and industrious or the persecuted, who will here find the peace he missed in Europe. . . . There still exists on earth a place where the skillful, industrious, but oppressed individual with foresight can build his cabin and calmly, far from the violent agitations which visit the old world, pursue his work and enjoy the lot Fortune assigns to all her children."

But Klinkowström was a representative of the Metternich era in more respects than the purely social. While able to admire the freedom of American life, he had little patience with those who sought the same liberties in Europe. In writing of the education of American youth, he remarked that on the Continent students prolonged their stay unduly at the universities, especially in Germany. "The abstract studies of Schelling's and Fichte's philosophies are partly responsible for this, but partly also our modern young people who believe that they must assist in humanizing the statutes and laws, and change them to comply with the spirit of the times and the new views. . . . Thus they join secret organizations where ceremonies, principles, and symbols are prototypes of the spirit which has been aroused through certain abstract studies or fancies." In America, "public studies do not have this tendency. Here the object is to get some real and practical value for oneself and the common good from studying. The young know no secret orders; none is adept at abstract fancies, nor are there formed among these young folks any private societies with a supposed religious or political tendency, for in this country one has what he desires

along these lines . . . for which Europe struggles in vain." As a man of military background, too, he somewhat deplored our neglect of both West Point and the army. He felt that a reorganization of the militia was called for and the creation of something resembling the Swedish territorial army.

Viewed as a whole, this is a sane and worth-while book that will be recognized as a valuable source for the study of early American life. Professor Scott, his assistants, and the Northwestern University Press are to be congratulated on a competent work of translating, editing, and publishing.

Brix, Hans. *Emil Aarestrup*, I-II. Gyldendal, Copenhagen, 1952. Pp. 198+ (7 plates) and 249. Price, 37.50 crowns.

REVIEWED BY P. M. MITCHELL, *University of Kansas*.

The two volumes of Hans Brix's *Emil Aarestrup* may be considered independently of each another. Volume I is a biographical study of Denmark's foremost writer of love poetry, who was at once Denmark's Heine and Denmark's Rückert. Volume II consists of letters which the poet-physician wrote to his wife both before and after their marriage.

The biography is of greater value than the letters. Employing his usual meticulousness and intuitive powers of detection, Professor Brix has, with the aid of Sejer Kühle, ferreted out the details of Aarestrup's life and brought them into accord with his poetry. Brix's method is that of the psychological and philological school of the early twentieth century. The poem is considered as evidence, and consequently the biographical and ethical rather than the aesthetic and formal elements in Aarestrup's verse are stressed. At every juncture Brix is ready to conjure up or educe the situation which brought forth a poem. His study comprises first and foremost psychological analysis and *Entstehungsgeschichte*. One is nevertheless astounded at Professor Brix's ability to perceive literary parallels, permutations, and combinations.

In order to follow Brix's exposition and analyses, it is almost imperative to have at hand the five-volume edition of Aarestrup's *Samlede Skrifter* which Brix and Palle Raunkjær edited

from 1922 to 1925, for in Brix's present study, which contains a running commentary on Aarestrup's work considered in chronological order, the poems are seldom quoted in full.

Professor Brix's inimitable style is salted with laconic remarks and personal opinions. One perhaps needs to have heard Professor Brix lecture to appreciate the dry humor contained in such a criticism as "det maa have lydt forfærdeligt" (page 171, with reference to an occasional poem to Frederik VI, written in 1838).

When considered in detail, Aarestrup's life is not very inspiring. There was nothing unusually admirable, exciting, or noteworthy about Aarestrup as a person. Be that as it may, Professor Brix has performed not only a labor of love but a necessary task in providing us with the first (and presumably the last) biography of one of Denmark's great poets. Despite the critical approbation which Aarestrup has enjoyed since his death, Danish literary historians and critics have lacked a synoptic study of Aarestrup and his work. This lacuna now having been filled, it is up to younger critics to undertake more detailed aesthetic studies of Aarestrup's poetry on the basis of the *Samlede Skrifter*.

The letters to Caroline Aarestrup, née Aagaard (114 letters from the years 1824-26 and 40 letters from the years 1845-55), are tedious. To be sure, they are documents from Aarestrup's life, but they contain few literary references. One must wade through prolix asseverations of Aarestrup's affection, countless bits of medical advice for borborygmus and other minor ailments, and bourgeois comments on social life, the quality of Aarestrup's children's orthography, and the like, in order to find some literary opinions. While most of the letters are self-explanatory and need no critical commentary, the lack of an index to the letters is deplorable. An index would indicate to the literary historian that there are, for example, interesting references to Grundtvig in Aarestrup's letters of October 5, 1825 and May 13, 1826; to Jean Paul in letters dated February 28, 1825, December 3, 1825 and June 24, 1826; and to Wackenroder in a letter of May 5, 1825.

On the whole, Aarestrup's letters are the product of a

balanced, rational, but unoriginal mind. The father of twelve children, he was a Biedermeier erotic and was unlike the poet of today whom we often think of as characterized by crises and neuroses. Aarestrup apparently never felt he wanted to flee what an Englishman once called "the stench of civilization." Again and again Aarestrup mentions that he is at peace with his his own mind. As it takes form in the letters, his personal philosophy is not profound. We find it summarized toward the end of his life in a passage contained in a letter dated September 9, 1852:

den højeste Dannelse bestaaer . . . i rolig Anskuelse af Verdens Gang, af sin egen Skjæbne, af sin Omgivelses Ufuldkommenhed, i Bevidstheden af sin egen, og i den kjærligste Eftergivenhed og Forsonlighed mod andre. . . . Sparsomhed, Nøjsomhed, Simpelt er Dyder, men ikke de højeste; Venlighed, Forsonlighed, Medfølelse, ere langt ædlere, menneskeligere, guddommeliger; de første findes ogsaa hos Dyrene, og klæde dem godt, men de sidste skulle vi udmærke os ved.

American-Swedish Handbook, Vol. IV. Edited by Martin Soderback. Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Illinois, 1953. Pp. 166. Price, \$3.00.

REVIEWED BY DELMAR NORDQUIST,
American Swedish Institute, Minneapolis.

Five years have passed since the publication of the third volume of the *American-Swedish Handbook*. Volume IV arrives opportunely at a time when interest in Sweden again reaches a climax in the current celebration of the 700th anniversary of the founding of the City of Stockholm. The interest of Americans in Swedes and Sweden is attested to by the large number of tourists traveling to Sweden. There has also been a reciprocating movement of Swedes to America.

No publication is more valuable than the handbook in offering information about Swedish culture in America. Apart from the worth of the statistical and explanatory data, it can serve as a means for grasping quickly and comprehensively a picture of Swedes in America.

Some changes have been made. The addition of the chapters *Doctoral Dissertations of Scandinavian Interest* and *Research in Progress in Scandinavian Interest* is invaluable. Mr. Grant T.

Hanson's *Scandinavian Translations into English, 1948-1950* furnishes a means for examining the contributions of Scandinavians in subjects of wide interest to American readers. The corresponding list of American books translated into Swedish, a part of the 1948 edition of the *Handbook*, is missing. A comparison of types of subjects translated would have given an insight into Swedish and American interests as directed toward each other. If such a comparison between the two articles in both volumes is valid, some startling facts are apparent.

Through the Years with Swedish-Americans in Sport should receive an avid response by sports-conscious American readers. However, the thought comes to mind that Sweden has been well represented in international sports events, and by way of completeness a summary of the Swedes' high achievements would have added to Mr. Gerhard T. Rooth's very readable contribution.

One of the most important assets to teachers and students is Dr. Arthur Wald's *Materials for the Study of Swedish*. The frequency of demands for such bibliographic material current in Swedish culture centers reveals the great need for such information.

The combination of quick reference and readable articles make the *Handbook* more than just a statistical yearbook. The personal touch remains in the compilation of the book, and credit must be given to the editor, who almost singlehandedly prepared the book for publication. The various contributors are, of course, given full credit, but final preparation for printing has its own variety of difficulties and problems. The final result is the reward for those who spent time and money on the edition. The *Handbook* is an excellent and indispensable asset to every American center of Swedish culture and information.

BOOK NOTES

Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of Njálssaga*. Studia Islandica, Íslenzk fræði 13, Ritstjóri: Steingrímur J. Þorsteinsson. Reykjavík, H. F. Leiftur, Kaupmannahöfn, Einar Munksgaard, 1953. Pp. iii, 179.

From the first, *Njáls saga* (or *Njála*) seems to have been one of the most popular among the sagas. This is reflected in the number of its manuscripts: there are preserved fragments of twenty-one on vellum dating from ca. 1300–1600, and a great many more on paper, from later times. None of the vellum MSS are intact; some are relatively complete, others are fragments only.

No one has ever tried to classify all of *Njála*'s manuscripts. But Jón Þorkelsson (the younger) attempted a classification of the vellum MSS for the critical edition of *Njála*, published by Konráð Gíslason and Eiríkur Jónsson in 1875–9. Einar Ól. Sveinsson also confines himself to the vellum MSS, but instead of classifying them by samples only, he has compared every MS from beginning to end and thereby discovered several cases where scribes had changed their copies during the copying. Otherwise he concludes that the MSS fall into three classes: X (Y and Z), where Y and Z derive from a sister MS (V) to X, and both X and V go back to the archetype, which may or may not be the author's copy.

Einar Ól. Sveinsson undertook this arduous and time-consuming task (a year's work) as a preparation for his edition of *Njála* in the *Íslenzk Fornrit* series, to be published shortly. Since that edition excludes a minute study of MSS, he published it separately and in English.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

Dr. Sveinn Bergsveinsson, *Nýyrði. I. Útgefandi: Menta-
málaráðuneytið*, Reykjavík 1953. Pp. 110.

When the present Minister of Education in Iceland, Björn Ólafsson, took office, he wanted to establish an academy to preserve and enrich the language through wise sifting and translating of foreign words. He did not succeed directly, but indirectly

he has succeeded in assuming the responsibility for the collection and publication of this glossary of neologisms. It is sponsored by the professors of Icelandic Language Literature, and History at the University of Iceland, but carried out by a scholar well known for his contributions to experimental phonetics (phonometry), his chief work being an investigation of Icelandic speech-melody in connected speech. He distributes his 6000 items of the glossary under the following headings: Physics, Atomic Physics, Electricity, Chemistry, Automobiles, Psychology, Logic, General Science, Biology, Genetics, General Terms, and Foreign Words.

This glossary of foreign words shows what one would suspect, that English often furnishes the source for the material. What surprised me, however, is the fact that Danish (or some other Scandinavian language) is, however, the source of a considerable number of words, showing the cultural affinities between Iceland and Scandinavia on the Continent. The glossary is concise but well done, and one looks forward to its continuation.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

Announcement

The next annual meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study will take place at Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, on May 7-8, instead of at the College of William and Mary as stated in the minutes of the Secretary's annual report in the August issue (1953).

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCE- MENT OF SCANDINAVIAN STUDY

President, Professor Joseph Alexis, University of Nebraska

Vice-President, Professor Gösta Franzen, University of Chicago

Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. Martin Soderback, North Park College

Managing Editor of Publications, Prof. A. M. Sturtevant, University of Kansas

Associate Managing Editor, Prof. Walter Johnson, University of Washington

Advisory Committee

Prof. E. Gustav Johnson, North Park College	} For one } year
Prof. Walter W. Gustafson, Upsala College	
Prof. J. Jörgen Thompson, St. Olaf College	} For two } years
Mr. Hedin Bronner, American Legation, Reykjavik, Iceland	
Prof. Arne Lindberg, State College of Washington	} For three } years
Prof. Assar Janzén, University of California, Berkeley, California	
Prof. Lee M. Hollander, University of Texas	} For four } years
Dr. Nils G. Sahlin, American Swedish Institute, Minneapolis, Minn.	

TEXTBOOKS FOR THE STUDY OF SWEDISH

MODERN SWEDISH POEMS 60 cents	FRITIOFS SAGA. By Esalas Tegnér. \$1.25
SVENSKA SOM LEVER. By Martin Allwood and Arthur Wald. \$1.50	KARL-ANDERS GOES TRAVELING. By L. Gottfrid Sjöholm. \$1.00
BASIC SWEDISH WORD LIST. By M. S. Allwood and I. Wilhelmsen. 75 cents	BEGINNING SWEDISH. REVISED. By W. G. Johnson. \$3.00
ELEMENTARY SPOKEN SWEDISH. By Martin Söderbäck. 60 cents	SWEDISH COMPOSITION AND WORD STUDY. By Edwin J. Vickner. \$1.50
ADVANCED SPOKEN SWEDISH. By Martin Söderbäck. \$2.00	SWEDISH READER. By A. Louis Elmquist. \$2.00
SWEDISH READER FOR SECOND YEAR. By Martin Söderbäck. \$2.00	I SVERIGE. By Joseph Alexis. \$2.75
FÄNRIK STÅLS SÄGNER. By Johan Ludvig Runeberg. \$1.75	

Published by
AUGUSTANA BOOK CONCERN
Rock Island, Illinois

Write for a descriptive listing of these texts for the study of Swedish



THE NORWEGIAN LANGUAGE IN AMERICA

A Study in Bilingual Behavior

By Einar Haugen. A brilliant analysis showing how Norwegian immigrants learned to speak and write English. Illuminates the problems of all bilinguals. "We are simply overwhelmed by the thoroughness of his study. . . ." *Carl Hansen, Sons of Norway*. "It is . . . one of the most important contributions I have read to American social history." *Dean Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota*. Two volumes, 695 pages, maps, tables, appendices, notes, index, \$8.00.



two new
scandinavian
studies

THE GROWTH OF SCANDINAVIAN LAW

By Lester B. Orfield. First book in English on this subject. Discusses history, politics, and economics as well as legal developments of each Scandinavian state. Explains what Scandinavian Law is, how it came to be, and how it compares with law in other European countries and the United States. A monumental contribution to American legal literature. 416 pages, extensive bibliographies, notes, index, \$8.50.

Write for FREE-EXAMINATION copies today. Also ask for our catalog of other new books.

UNIVERSITY OF
PENNSYLVANIA PRESS

3436 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 4

Enjoy your trip on a S·A·L Ship



By ship, you're not just going some place—you're *really living* while you're getting there. Your vacation pleasure begins the minute you step aboard, and you'll arrive rested, relaxed, refreshed. Plan *now* for a trip to Scandinavia at the low Thrift Season rates. Excellent space still available on the following sailings from New York:

M.S. GRIPSHOLM

to Gothenburg—Feb. 16; Mar. 17; April 15

M.S. STOCKHOLM

to Gothenburg and Copenhagen—Feb. 25; Mar. 24



The new, luxurious

M.S. KUNGSHOLM

to Gothenburg Apr. 6



Minimum Thrift Season Rates (to April 11): Gripsholm and Stockholm \$195, Tourist Class; \$285, First Class; Kungsholm \$205, Tourist Class; \$295, First Class. For reservations see your Travel Agent or

SWEDISH AMERICAN LINE

636 Fifth Avenue, New York 20, N.Y.

181 No. Michigan Ave.
Chicago 1, Ill.

760 Market Street
San Francisco 2, Calif.

235 White Henry Bldg.
Seattle 1, Wash.

Offices or agents in all principal cities

